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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1926



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BRIEFS

TU CONGRESS ANNOUNCED--The Czech ROH (Revolutionary Trade Union Movement) Congress will be held in Prague between 26 and 28 February 1982, as approved during a plenary session of the Czech Council of Trade Unions on 24 September. [Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 25 Sep 81 p 2]

CSO: 2400/5

VARNAI ATTACKS U.S.-CHINESE RELATIONS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Ferenc Varnai: "Almost Allied... Concerning the International Strategy of the Chinese Leadership"]

[Text] Since the removal of Hua Guofeng from the post of chairman of the CCP and the appointment of Hu Yaobang, who stands close to Deng Xiaoping, to this function bourgeois commentators have been using an awful lot of paper to evaluate the "de-Maoization" of China. More than a few have conceived of and still conceive of a departure from the ultraleft policy and plans aimed at modernization of the economy as a break with Maoist policy. But the essence of the Maoist conception never lay simply in the ultraleftist policy of the "great leap" and the "cultural revolution":--at most these were manifestational forms of the ideological system and policy of Maoism for a briefer or longer time. The essence lay primarily in the nationalist, great power chauvinist ambition which is increasingly gaining the ascendancy in the foreign policy of the present Peking leadership.

Peking and the Trilateralists

This is also indicated by the rapprochement which is taking place between the present Chinese leadership and the Reagan government, which is sharpening international tension at an accelerating pace. The visit of Haig, the American general and secretary of state, to Peking at the beginning of summer not only opened the door for US arms shipments to China but also led to an agreement pertaining to harmonization of the strategic plans of the two countries. A conference which took place in Peking at the end May, on the eve of Haig's trip, a conference about which the bourgeois and Chinese press has remained quite silent, betrays especially much about the development of links between Peking and Washington. The capitalist news organs, so hungry for sensations, proved extraordinarily discreet on this occasion; they limited themselves to a brief statement of the facts. But this was a sensation, one of the best.

What happened was that the Trilateral Commission, which includes many leading strategists, politicians and businessmen of the United States, Western Europe and Japan and which helps to work out and coordinate the policy of international monopoly capital and get it implemented in the policy of imperialist governments, held its regular scheduled meeting in Peking (!). This fact indicated that the policy makers of the capitalist world were thus including the Chinese leadership in an institutionalized form in the harmonization of their political, economic and military strategy. It also indicated that the host was demanding for himself a part

in the development and implementation of the policy of the imperialist powers! (Deputy premier Ji Pengfei announced: "The prospects for cooperation between China and the Trilateral Commission are broad." To which David Rockefeller, chairman of the commission, hastened to add: "There are many more common traits than differences between China and the trilateralists, and even the differences can be overcome.")

To prove that this is not some sort of presumption or overestimation let us quote the West German FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU which recently leaked, under the headline "China Wants to Form an Alliance Against the Soviet Union," the report read at the conference, which belongs to the army. (No one in Peking denied the text published by the FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU.) We quote parts for this report below.

The Leaked Report

"The Soviet Union is striving for world hegemony--without war; or, if necessary, with war too.... The strategic target of the Soviet Union is Europe.... If the Soviet Union should occupy West Europe then the United States would be in immediate danger also.... At this time the chief expansion target of the Soviet Union is the southern front, the area rich in strategic raw materials, primarily the Near East and the oil along the Persian Gulf, which is of vital importance for the western economy.... If the Soviet Union should cut oil supplies to the West, on which its life depends, then the entire strategy of the western world would be inoperative. What would Japan, the United States and Europe do?"

This so-called analysis agrees letter for letter with those assertions with which the most extreme circles of American militarism justify the arms race and their adventurous actions. But let us see how Xiu Xin summed up the task for joint action against the Soviet Union:

"1. The United States, Japan, West Europe and the third world countries should jointly oppose Soviet hegemonism....

"2. A front for the united struggle against hegemonism must be formed in Afghanistan and Cambodia....

"3. The Soviet Union must be weakened politically, economically and militarily; it must be caused the greatest possible difficulty....

"4. The important role of the third world must be developed to full extent in the struggle against Soviet hegemonism.... For this reason the West must evidence a careful behavior and policy in regard to the third world. At present it must treat wisely primarily the Palestinian and Namibian questions."

"We would gladly unite our forces," he added, "with the United States, Japan, West Europe and the third world countries in the decisive struggle against Soviet hegemonism on any front." He then bragged in this way: "We are fully conscious of our role in the united international struggle being waged against imperialism (this is how they name the Soviet Union--the editors). One quarter of the entire military strength of the Soviet Union is tied down on the Chinese-Soviet border and the great bulk of the Vietnamese armed forces are tied down on the Chinese-Vietnamese border."

Parts of the other two Chinese speeches have leaked out from western diplomatic sources also. Pei Monong, deputy director of the Chinese institute dealing with the study of international questions, emphasized:

"That strategic link which has come into being between China, the United States, Japan, West Europe and some of the third world countries took form in the struggle against Soviet hegemonism. The foundation for this link is a common strategic interest."

Xiong Xianghui, vice-president of the Chinese People's Foreign Affairs Institute, said no less than what we now quote:

"The Chinese leaders have said on numerous occasions that they regard the Soviet Union, and not the United States, as the fundamental source of war.... It is incorrect for the Trilateral Commission to use the expression 'Communist China' in its publications. This expression is not precise: it suffices to say simple 'China.'.... It is not correct for the Trilateral Commission to refer to China in various of its documents as an 'eastern country,' together with the Soviet Union, nor is it correct for the Commission to say that the world today is divided by an 'East-West conflict.' This conception reflects views fashionable in the early 1950's and it does not correspond to the reality of the present world situation."

The Logic of Maoist Development

In the light of all this it also becomes clear how the Peking leadership interprets the so-called "three worlds theory" which is being developed into the foundation for China's foreign policy and which was repeatedly confirmed by the most recent 6th plenum of the Central Committee of the CCP. This "theory" is based on the idea that the so-called "second world" (the industrially developed countries, without distinction, with which China lists itself) must fight with united strength against the "first world" (the Soviet Union and the United States, again without class distinctions). But for the present Chinese leadership only the Soviet Union, out of this "first world," qualifies as an enemy. What has happened is what the Central Committee of the CPSU said--at its February 1964 session--about the logic of the development of Maoist policy:

"The Maoists, betraying the class interests of the workers and the ideals of the Chinese revolution, will sink from leftist pseudo-revolutionary calls for the immediate annihilation of the 'paper tiger of American imperialism' to making direct military-political deals with them.... Proceeding on their own anti-Leninist mistaken road the Chinese leaders must come to a practical intertwining with the reactionary, militant elements of imperialism."

Unfortunately, this has happened. For the present American leaders China has been raised to the rank of the "almost allied."

Two Sorts of Conceptions

Under such circumstances the anti-American Peking criticism voiced from time to time in the Taiwan question has the misleading role of keeping nationalism alive or rather of reassuring the forces wary of excessive subordination to the US. The already quoted Pei Monong formulated it this way before the Trilateral Commission:

"The Taiwan question is not simply a bilateral problem but is a part of the general strategy. So we cannot permit the Taiwan question to result in a reversal in Chinese-American relations because all things like this have a harmful effect on the development of the strategic contacts which are of primary importance."

Of course, the American and Chinese strategies which have found one another on the soil of anti-Sovietism are far from being uniform in regard to their long-range plans. Each is trying to bind the other more closely to its policy, while trying to retain a free hand for itself.

When the Chinese leaders, with their offers of alliance, urge the United States, Japan and West Europe to step up their arming against the Soviet Union, when they applaud the upsetting of the SALT agreement, the western European deployment of medium-range missiles and the manufacture of the neutron bomb, they are basing their calculations on the idea that all this may result in a clash which could lead to the destruction or weakening of all their potential rivals. And they lull themselves in the illusion that they themselves may remain outside the zone of destruction and the leading role in the world which they so long for may fall in their laps. This is nothing other than the unadulterated dream of Mao: "The wise monkey sitting on the peak of the mountain watches the struggle of the tigers in the valley."

Washington's conception of the Chinese-American rapprochement is obviously entirely different. Joseph Sisco, former American under-secretary of state, wrote as follows in the article titled "Selective Pledges" which appeared recently in FOREIGN POLICY:

"An Enduring Soviet-Chinese hostility will tie down resources which otherwise Moscow would concentrate against the West."

In other words, China is getting partial tasks in the realization of the Asian plans of the American leadership--Peking is to exercise pressure on Vietnam, hinder the changes taking place in people's Cambodia, support the Afghan counterrevolutionaries and, especially, follow an anti-Soviet line everywhere and in everything, so as to tie down "Soviet resources."

Increasing Resistance

The Chinese leadership--being the weaker party--is actually selling the sovereignty of their homeland. Among other things this is shown by the fact that Peking has permitted the deployment on Chinese territory of American monitoring and reconnaissance stations directed against the Soviet Union. Some Washington diplomats are already pondering when their medium-range missiles directed against the Soviet Union can be deployed in China also. The United States--as in the case of West Europe also--wants to attain strategic superiority against the Soviet Union at the price of risking the existence of others.

The Chinese hegemonists, whether they want to play an independent role in the Far East or undertake "partial tasks" from the plans of the imperialists, are in any case acting against the fundamental interests of their neighbors, the peoples of the area, and especially, their own people. For this reason their policy is running into strengthening resistance.

TRAINING, CORRECTION OF SOLDIERS DISCUSSED

Warsaw PRZEGLAD WOJSK LADOWYCH in Polish No 6, Jun 81 pp 85-87

[Article by Master Capt Adam Kulbiej: "The Shaping of Personality"]

[Text] Personality is a combination of closely connected, fundamental, relatively stable and lasting psychological qualities formed under concrete conditions of social life, delineating the behavior and activity of a soldier. The subject of military training is a young man of 19-21 years, who is supposed to master specific knowledge connected with his role in defense of the country and social life. A young man of this age is still not fully formed psychologically and physically. Every trainer and commander must be aware of this and form his own conclusion.

As a social institution, the military exerts a definite impact on the shaping of the personality of the young citizen. And it is for this reason that exceptional moral responsibility lies with a soldier's superiors.

Unlike other institutions, in which the age range of trainees is broad, in the military youth constitute a social group equalized with regard to age. Moreover, every day of a soldier's life is defined by regulations, the order of the day and particular orders. This creates quite a different situation for the trainer and trainee here than in other institutions.

The aims of training. The aim of military training is to prepare the soldier for action on the field of battle and for life and work in socialist society. Shaping the personality of subordinates as creative, rational and noble defenders of the fatherland prepares them for work and life in the civilian environment.

Principles of training. This refers to the most general norm regulating the conduct of the trainer during the training process.

The principle of the personality. Conscious human activity depends primarily on the defined ideas which one lives by and which guide human behavior. In accordance with this principle, a soldier should have a good understanding of the aims and tasks in the name of which he must surmount difficulties, endure ordeals and always be prepared to work for the good of the fatherland.

The principle of the systematic training effect depends on exacting tasks from the soldier, increasing requirements and means of action, and the continuity of training endeavors.

Respect for personality. The individual treatment of each trainee guarantees respect for the trainee's personality. Thanks to respect for the soldier's dignity, relations between superior and subordinate are becoming easier. Then the training impact is greater. Familiarity with the soldier's mental characteristics, character and temperament allows the superior to define his suitability for a specified function and to anticipate his behavior in one or another situation.

After he has started his basic military service, a young man frequently encounters difficulties with which he cannot cope. The new environment, tasks requiring physical and mental stress, a tightly organized life regimen, strict discipline, sudden separation from family and friends, the need to rebuild the whole lifestyle that the soldier has had until now--all these changes demand great physical and mental effort on the part of the soldier. Therefore, all commanders, especially in the initial period of military service, should remember the individual approach to each soldier.

Training work. This cannot be limited only to instructions, orders and stories. Soldiers are trained by people, a situation, exercises, labor and military life, and the conditions prevailing in the collective. The training process is a constant process; it cannot be planned for certain hours, days and weeks. The basic training work aimed at positive personality formation is the commander's recognition of the individual traits of each member of the collective.

Recognition of personality. In the recognition process, which is governed by familiarity with the general principles of human personality structure, the following factors should be considered:

- the soldier's personal data;
- the influence of his way of life up until now and his upbringing;
- his state of health;
- his intellect;
- his emotions;
- his temperament;
- his character;
- his essential capabilities, habits and skills in his work;
- his interests; and
- his world view.

The more important ways of recognizing the soldier's personality are: observation, individual interview and data obtained from documents.

Pedagogical tact has a great influence on relations in the subunit, especially during meetings and individual conversations between the commander and his subordinates. This is the ability to feel, the way that one should behave and act in various situations with people. You can tell a person everything, but you have to do it in a way that will not cause negative training effects.

Work With Problem Soldiers

Many problem soldiers are capable, but they put their abilities to inappropriate use. Sometimes they are leaders of informal groups which have an unfavorable influence on the surroundings. Therefore, it is rather essential to conduct corrective work with them.

Practice with correction shows that the mind of an undisciplined soldier cannot be reshaped using penalties alone. Corrective methods should depend on the person upon whom they act. Desired changes can be achieved only by creating an atmosphere of cooperation between the commander and subordinate based on mutual respect for human dignity. This follows, moreover, from the basic principle of pedagogical humanism. By eliminating negative attitudes, the subunit becomes integrated.

The foremost training task is to strive for complete development of the personality of the subordinates and for his integration into the subunit.

We know from practice that the problem soldier who is continually punished does not change his behavior but rather, as a rule, behaves even worse, no longer fearing subsequent penalties. Moreover, the penalties release obstinacy and aggression in him. The use of a work penalty, out of turn, without thinking it out properly also has similar effects.

The aim of socialist training is to inculcate a liking for work and good fulfillment of obligations. When work starts to be a punishment, achievement of this aim is impossible. Punishing someone with work out of turn seems advisable only when it is meant to correct harm that has been done or to benefit the public. This should be explained accurately to the person being punished, and he should be made to understand that--notwithstanding the punishment being meted out to him--respect is being shown for his human dignity.

Punishment cannot be the only means of correction. It is supposed to solve the problem, and not to create a new one. Therefore, one must not constantly remind trainees and mention punishment. It is essential to restore the punished soldier to the rights which the regulations give him (furloughs, periodic leaves) as soon as possible. The point is to make him understand that his persistence in a posture of rebellion against his superiors and his environment is inadvisable, that in his case this posture has lost its effectiveness.

As a rule, punishment itself does not lead to the cessation of undesirable habits. A significant role is played by conversations--held freely, in a sincere atmosphere--on the subject of family circumstances and future life plans and by knowledge of the conditions in which the soldier was brought up and the environment from which he came to the military.

But a problem soldier has not always brought that baggage of negative traits with him when he joins the military. The sad fact is that these soldiers are "created" in the military by commanders with poor pedagogical qualifications. Such commanders think that they can build up their authority by meting out harsh punishments. I believe that the reactive soldier notices only the ruthless and relentless commander. Frequently, these commanders use outcries, name calling, and threats, and they do

not fulfill the soldier's desires. This kind of behavior has negative results. Rigors are the mainspring of correction, but thoughtless repression in the form of punishments always causes an increase in negative reactions. Let me give you an example. A problem soldier has committed an offense (not for the first time); his commander has punished him by confining him to quarters, but at the same time he has told the soldier: furloughs do not apply to you, and you'll go on leave in civilian life. Although these promises usually fall into oblivion, nevertheless there takes shape in the mind of the soldier a very negative reaction--a reaction of aggression and rebellion: "there is no way for me to improve myself, because I don't have any chances." Such punishments kill the soldier's desire to improve himself, and they affirm his feeling that the situation is hopeless. By the same token, they destroy the important source of inner coercion, so important for matters of leadership and training.

Consistency is a basic training directive, without which it is difficult to achieve the training goal. To achieve consistency requires placing well thought out and great demands on the subordinate, maintaining constant supervision, and evaluating the progress and general attitude of the trainee. Only the consistent commander enjoys the confidence of, and authority over, the subordinate. These things are acquired not by the threat of punishment or by vindictiveness, but by having the commander place demands on the subordinate and on himself. Consequently, trainers should act in accordance with these recommendations:

--show interest--and sincere interest--in your subordinate, especially in the problem soldier;

--give preference to the individual approach to every soldier instead of having a schematic, equal attitude towards everyone; and

--include problem soldiers in the active life of the subunit.

How should the commander act so that singling out a subordinate or punishing him will play a positive role in the process of resocializing problem soldiers?

Primarily, it is indispensable to combine the training efforts of commanders at all levels. Including the problem soldier directly and actively in the mainstream of the life of the subunit also plays an essential role in the resocialization process. Initially the allotted tasks should be quite easy, but the commander cannot forget about singling a soldier out for accomplishing these tasks in an exemplary fashion. Singling soldiers out when this is not justified has very negative training effects. At first the problem trainee will argue that he is not anxious for this distinction. But this is only a feigned attitude. For there are no people without ambition, and everyone has a need for recognition in others' eyes. Therefore, it is better to single out a soldier even for small accomplishments than to punish him unnecessarily or harshly even once. Singling out (also punishing) a soldier belatedly is ineffective, and sometimes the absence of an anticipated distinction acts like a punishment.

In the complex of pedagogical reactions to problem soldiers, many remarks are devoted to the appropriate adjustment of the environment to these soldiers. The creation of an atmosphere of goodwill by the commander is important, but so is the creation of regulated order that is binding on everyone. It is easier to correct a soldier who

is convinced that people wish him well and who wants to be helped. Sometimes punishment is an indispensable corrections medium. Whether or not it fulfills its task is determined by the way in which it is meted out. Conduct that offends human dignity, sarcasm, and also engaging in name calling, abusive language, and threats will not yield the desired result. For a subordinate's feeling of inferiority runs deep, killing the feeling of his own worth. Depriving a subordinate of the function which he is fulfilling is a painful punishment, which it sometimes is more advantageous to mete out in an appropriate manner and under suitable circumstances.

Offense that warrant disciplinary action should be considered during the official daily briefing. Primarily, the commander must stimulate the perpetrator of an offense warranting disciplinary action to evaluate the situation and to look at it from the standpoint of a superior or colleague. For the reaction to be a positive one, in the conversation preceding this confrontation the act being censured should be qualified impartially, without discrediting the punished individual in any way. The soldier must be convinced of the validity of the punishment. Only then does he not occupy the position of an enemy and adversary in relation to the commander-trainer, but, rather, he takes on himself the responsibility for the offense, submitting of his own free will to the consequences resulting from this offense. It should be remembered that the soldier has ample opportunities to better himself and to remit his punishment for good behavior.

Among the many training actions, persuasion occupies an important place. It is not a matter of moralizing trivially, but of patiently transmitting experiences, knowledge, and capabilities. The arousal of the need for stability in military society, for recognition in the collective, plays an essential role. This effect is achieved precisely by persuasion--similar to the overcoming of frustration, that is, the state of unpleasant mental stress caused by the failure to satisfy some needs or by the inability to attain some goal, and primarily by the failure to have genuine training contact between the soldier and his commander and the soldier collective.

Thus, pointers can be specified with regard to corrective behavior toward problem soldiers:

--Corrective activity should be based on persuasion, encouragement, and recognition, assuring cooperation with the problem soldier when a decision is made regarding him, and with renunciation of supervision of the problem soldier that is based exclusively on domination.

--It is essential to arouse in the problem soldier the feeling of self-control and of responsibility for achieved tasks and attitude, and to increase the requirements for his acceptance.

--The trainee's conviction concerning his commander's goodwill and desire to come to his aid should be confirmed.

--Strive to arouse the need to obtain approval and reward, and to create an atmosphere of sympathy, goodwill and mutual trust.

--Utilize resocialization possibilities sometimes overlooked by the circle of military youth.

In particular cases, when all the pointers discussed here fail, there is another method, that of sending problem soldiers, including perpetrators of offenses meriting disciplinary action, to the soldier collectives for training. The forms and principles of this method are defined in a detailed manner in guidelines No 8 from the chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish military from 14 December 1970 on the principles and forms of activity of soldier collectives in the process of correcting perpetrators of crimes and offenses meriting disciplinary action in the military.

8729

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ROMANIA

'CREATIVE' SOCIALISM OF CEAUSESCU HAILED BY RAUTU

Bucharest ANALE DE ISTORIE in Romanian No 3, May-Jun 81 pp 61-64

[Article by Leonte Rautu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party's Central Committee, president of the Leadership Council and rector of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: "The Creative Approach to the Problems of Building Socialism in the Activities of the Romanian Communist Party and Those of its Secretary General, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu"]

[Text] From its birth and throughout the entire course of its activities, which are rich in moments of great tension and drama, as well as great events and victories, the Romanian Communist Party as expressed itself as the legitimate successor of the lofty traditions of our people's struggle for national and social liberation. It is a fact full of significance that the Party's Program itself contains a synthesis of the entire path covered by the Romanian people during its millenary history as an expression of the idea that there is an indestructible organic link between the past, present and future of the Romanian nation and that without delving into the deep meanings of its historical evolution and its crucial moments the view into its status today and for tomorrow will appear incomplete.

One of these crucial moments, whose real significance in historical perspective was understood at the time by the most lucid and enlightened minds, was the founding of the Romanian Communist Party. Under its leadership, as pointed out by one of the recent documents of the party, the working class and the workers forged a glorious path of struggle and victories, carried out the great goals of the social and national, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist revolution, ensured the democratic and socialist transformation of society and laid the lasting foundations for today's socialist Romania as a prosperous, independent and sovereign country.

The 60th anniversary of the founding of the Romanian Communist Party, it was stressed in the report, offers an opportunity for a review of the great achievements and the radical revolutionary transformations that have occurred in all the areas of social affairs in our country since the party has been at its helm.

A turning point in the history of the party and our people was the Ninth Congress and the election of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to head the party. The work of great theoretical and practical complexity that it undertook, a work profoundly hostile

to any rigidity and dogma, to any immobilism in political thought and practice and to any theoretical fetishes, was based upon and is based upon a profoundly scientific, objective and courageous analysis of the course traveled, including the errors that were made, upon a penetrating examination of the new realities in all their aspects and upon an intransigent struggle against things obsolete and an uncovering of the mature requirements for the later development of society.

The structural modifications and profound changes that have taken place in recent years as a result of the dynamic development of the forces of production, the growth of national wealth and the continued improvement of the people's standard of living represent the supreme criteria of the justness of the party's policies, its scientific nature and the ability that our socialist society has to consciously direct the economic-social processes.

We all know that our party and its leadership have a strong feeling for reality and are directly involved in all aspects and facets of practical activities. At the same time, narrow and commonplace empiricism and practicism are totally foreign to the party. The Romanian Communist Party represents, as has been said more than once, an immense laboratory of theoretical thought, of synthesizing accumulated experience, of forecasting future development, of profoundly investigating the new phenomena and processes at the national and international levels and of drawing up both certain innovative theoretical theses and highly original forms and methods for specific social actions. The indissoluble and organic unity between theory and practice is one of the guiding principles for the manner in which our party understands how to work. For that reason, the stress given by the secretary general of the party is of a principled exceptional significance in that the theoretical study of the problems of the development of the new order and the forecasting of the future evolution of socialist society represent an objective requirement for the advancement of our country towards communism.

Beginning with this, the speaker particularly stressed two aspects that are, furthermore, closely interrelated and characteristic of the manner in which the secretary general of the party deals with the problems of revolutionary theory.

A fundamental aspect refers to his passionate plea for the spread of new social experiences on a theoretical level, as well as the spread of the recent data of human knowledge, going beyond a dogmatic concept that is hostile to the spirit itself of revolutionary thought, a concept which states that Marxist theory is something closed and intangible and that Marxism represents a type of closed system that is blind to the profound changes that have occurred and are occurring in the history of humanity. On the contrary, the report noted, Marxist revolutionary theory is a forever living theory whose essence is constantly being renewed from the spring of universal thought and knowledge, from the advances of all sciences,

from the profound social and political changes that are taking place in contemporary social affairs and from revolutionary practices. As was shown in the Report to the 12th Congress, an essential condition for success in the struggle of each revolutionary party is being guided by the concepts of dialectic and historical materialism, by scientific socialism and by the thinking in the classics of revolutionary theory. "At the same time, it must be understood that we are living in another historical era and that this requires a new approach to the fundamental problems of social development."

A second aspect, revealed by the speaker, lies in the original, appropriate contribution to the enrichment of revolutionary thought and practice and in the creative application of the fundamentals of revolutionary theory, as contained in the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, in other party documents and in the daily activities of the party, to the specific social and national conditions of Romania. An especially valuable contribution made comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and our party to the enrichment of revolutionary theory can be found in the thorough elucidation of the dialectic relationship between the general and the particular and between national and international in the socialist revolution and construction, in the criticism of tendencies to present laws that have operated or are operating under other circumstances as absolute truths drawn up once and for all and in the substantiation of the thesis, inalterable under current conditions, that the only thing that is mandatory from a theoretical and practical point of view are those things that contribute, under the specific-historical conditions of each country, to progress and the advancement of society and that the establishment of strategic and tactical objectives and the ways and forms of action represents the exclusive attribute of the revolutionary forces of the respective country.

In essence, the speaker pointed out, our party is guided by the precept that authentic loyalty to a revolutionary theory is expressed by creativity, an innovative spirit and original, independent thought that is adequate for the constantly changing domestic and international realities.

In response to the superficial-idyllic or mechanistic-automatistic views about the construction of a new society, our party and its secretary general have elaborated and developed the thesis of the continuity of the revolutionary process in Romania, based on the objective fact that the innovative transformations in the material and spiritual affairs of society do not end with the working class's assumption of political power and with the establishment of socialist production and social relations.

Like any living and complex social process stemming from objective requirements, the socialist revolution and construction do not know of and do not have at hand miraculous solutions, cannot simultaneously and instantaneously resolve all the problems that arise and do not represent a linear movement.

Beginning with such a dialectic, processual concept of the building of socialism, our party has created a strategy for economic-social development guided by the imperative of building a multilaterally developed socialist society for the purpose of fully achieving the characteristics of socialism and bringing about as fully as possible all the values of the socialist system for social organization and leadership.

The laws of dialectics, the struggle between old and new and the transition from quantitative accumulations to a new, superior quality are working as motive forces and as an active, stimulating factor for progress under the conditions of building a communist order.

Continuing, the vastly encompassing objectives set by the party for the current five year plan and in the perspective of the coming years were presented: the continued growth of the country's economic potential, the provision of a preponderantly intensive and rationally and scientifically balanced growth, the powerful development of industry concomitantly with the carrying out of a profound agricultural revolution and with high efficiency in economic activities, the modernization of the entire national economy on the basis of the advances of the contemporary technical-scientific revolution, the growth of social labor productivity as a decisive factor for increasing material production and national income, the development and furthering of socialist democracy, the lifting of the people's standard of living to a higher level, the uninterrupted and multilateral development of the human personality, and the spiritual prosperity of the entire society. All of this requires not just simple quantitative growth, but qualitative changes, marking a new stage of the revolutionary process.

In referring to one of the fundamental characteristics of dialectics - the unity and the struggle of contradictions, the speaker pointed out, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed that the party has constantly worked for the achievement of an agreement between the new mature requirements for moving ahead and the forms for organizing and managing the economy and society in general, resolving the contradictions that appear in the development process. An illustration of such an approach is represented by the measures to improve production relations as expressed in the new economic mechanism, the extension of self-management and self-administration to all economic-social affairs and thus the creation of a broad sphere for expressing the multiple qualities of the workers - as producers, as owners of the means of production and as users of the results of their labors.

The report pointed out the fact that a lucid and responsible attitude towards systematically resolving the contradictions of whatever type that inevitably appear in the process of revolutionarily transforming society represents one of the clearest expressions of the creative spirit in the policies and practical actions of the party.

Our party has repeatedly come out against any tendencies of complacency, of ignoring contradictions and of failing to take into consideration the requirements that place economic-social development on the agenda, and against any expressions of subjectivism and voluntarism. A decade ago comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that the specific analysis of contradictions in their dynamics and the elaboration of adequate solutions to overcome them constitute essential elements for the scientific management of social processes, and that deficiency in this regard could mean an aggravation of these contradictions and even lead to states of conflict, tension and imbalance in society. This is the basis for the conclusion of capital importance for the activities of a governing revolutionary party: "It is, therefore, necessary not for us to state that under socialism there can be no contradictions, but, in recognizing their existence, for us to work to understand them and to establish the most appropriate means to constantly resolve them in accordance with the interests of creating a socialist society."

Far from representing a circumstantial, passing attitude, the thesis regarding the contradictions in socialism represent an essential constitutive element of a realistic, scientific view on the process of building a new society and on the strategy and tactics designed to ensure the building of a multilaterally developed socialist society and the advancement towards communism. As the leading political force in society, the party has the mission of finding solutions for the new problems of the socialist development of the country. Beginning with the great achievements accomplished and a profound confidence in the social order's ability for self-improvement, the Romanian Communist Party, animated by a high sense of historical responsibility, cultivates a militant, revolutionary attitude towards any type of non-fulfillment or shortcomings, works in close contact with the masses in order to overcome difficulties and improve all the areas of social life, and focuses the creative energies of all the social classes and categories and the workers of all nationalities in the single direction established by the party's programmatic documents - an expression of the country's long-term interests.

Continuing, the speaker pointed out that, within this framework, one cannot suggest covering the extremely broad area of problems in the building of socialism, which are dealt with with an acute sense for the new by the secretary general of the party. His definition of the concept of the multilaterally developed socialist society, the ideas regarding the nature of economic growth during the current stage of development in our society, those referring to the improvement of our political system in all its compartments and the definition given to the role of the nation in the historical past, as well as the emphasis of the truth that the prospering of the nation represents a basic factor in the successful building of socialism and communism and the other theses and ideas of great value, represent valuable elements of our party's theoretical heritage and significant contributions to the enrichment of the store of revolutionary theory and practice. Following this continuing effervescence of thoughts, we could speak of a truly "tireless creative spirit" that is receptive and sensitive to the phenomena and trends that come forth during the process of socialist construction. This also refers to the great events and confrontations in the contemporary world, whose shrewd analyses in comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's works, together with his broadly echoed initiatives, are the source of his high prestige on the international level.

A remarkable example of this tireless creative spirit is represented by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recently formulated ideas regarding the nature and role of the party, as analyzed as a function of the changes that have occurred in our society. In these ideas we see a continuation and an amplification of the constant concerns in the direction of achieving a just relationship between the party, the classes and the masses, and between the leading role of the party and democracy in the spirit of the concept regarding the organic integration of the party in society's affairs.

We frequently encounter a somewhat restricted point of view regarding understanding the subject of leadership in a socialist society. For us it is axiomatic that the communist party, as the leading political force in all of society, fulfills the principal role in the topic of social leadership. At the same time, it must be precisely stated that it is the nucleus of an entire system whose components participate in the leadership of society: the socialist state, the system of public organizations and the multiple institutional forms which ensure the ever broader democratic participation of the members of society in leadership and decisionmaking activities.

These realities refute the claims of the opponents of socialism which state that there is an "irreconcilable contradiction" between the leading role of the party (and its growth) and the development of democracy in a socialist society.

Keeping in mind such "claims," the speaker pointed out that a distinctive characteristic of our political system lies precisely in the fact that in addition to growth in the party's leading role there is a furthering of the original forms of socialist democracy, a broadening and improvement of the organizational framework for the effective participation of the working class and all the workers in the leadership of society, an active involvement of the broadest masses in the work of building socialism and a stimulation of their creative powers and initiatives through all means.

The dialectic relationship between the party, as the most advanced force of the people, and its mass nature and the ever more organic blending of the party's activities with the affairs of all the people are one of the richest and most interesting chapters of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's creative contributions in the domain of revolutionary theory and practice.

From the perspective of our development along the path to socialism and communism, as our Party Program points out, "the gradual raising of the awareness of the broad popular masses to the level of social awareness and responsibility of party members and the blending of non-party and party members, from an awareness point of view, will lead in the end to a blending of the party with the masses." In its social-political practices, our party consistently works to stimulate this long and complex process on a number of planes.

In placing the milestones of our historical development, the 12th Party Congress estimated that in the next decade we will achieve for the most part the goals of building a multilaterally developed socialist society.

We are in the presence of a forecast based upon a realistic evaluation of our opportunities and abilities, a forecast based upon the prediction of changes that will occur in the area of social structures and relationships, the evolution of our political system and the evolution of the people's material and spiritual standard of living. The achievement of the objectives outlined by the Congress for the 1981-1990 decade will mark a new, higher stage in the revolutionary process. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated: "This will mean that in a period of approximately 50 years since the revolution of social and national liberation there will be a giant leap in the history of Romania and in the destiny of its people, in fact confirming the superiority of the new social order."

In referring to these perspectives for future development, we naturally reflect upon the tasks that stem from this in ideological activities, activities for creating socialist awareness and activities for stating the principles of socialist equality and equity and the high values of socialist humanism. We are aware that there is need for a new quality in formative-educational, ideological and cultural activities and greater intensity in them in order to be in step with the requirements of an impetuous development of society and to create the spiritual and moral conditions for the profound changes as determined by the party.

In the spirit of the remarkable creative theoretical activities of the party leadership and comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and in the spirit of the expressed exigencies, the last part of the report pointed out, we must concentrate efforts for research into the social and political sciences in the priority directions dictated by the transformational processes that characterized socialist society and we must conduct a thorough and courageous analysis of the problems of forecasting our economic-social evolution, as well as the fundamental problems of contemporary social-political development and the evolution of the worldwide revolutionary process.

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ROMANIA

ROMANIAN-SOVIET SYMPOSIUM ON INTERNAL PARTY LIFE

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[Report by Nicolae Raus on the Romanian-Soviet Symposium on "Improvement of the Party's Internal Relations Essential to Development of Its Social Leadership"]

[Text] On the basis of the agreement for scientific collaboration between the Institute for Historical and Social-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee, the Romanian-Soviet Symposium on "Improvement of the Party's Internal Relations Essential to Development of Its Social Leadership" was held in Bucharest on 26 and 27 May 1981. It is the fifth symposium on historical problems held by the representatives of the two institutes.

The delegation of Soviet historians was composed of Dr Petr Aleksandrovich Rodionov, first deputy director of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee and head of the delegation, Dr V. I. Bondar, chief of the Party Construction Section of the same Institute, N. D. Okonova and A. F. Kadashev, candidates in history and chief scientific researchers in the same section, and R. S. Yentsova, a scientific researcher.

The Romanian delegation was composed of Dr Gheorghe Zaharia, deputy scientific director of the Institute for Historical and Social-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee and head of the delegation, Dr Gheorghe Surpat, section chief at the institute, Dr Marin Nedelea, university reader at the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy and activist in the Propaganda Section of the RCP Central Committee, Dr Ion Tiberian, university reader at the Stefan Gheorghiu Academy, Nichita Paraschiva, chief scientific researcher, and Gheorghe Tudor, scientific researcher, both at the institute.

Dr Gheorghe Zaharia delivered the opening speech.

The proceedings of the symposium were chaired alternately by the heads of the two delegations.

The Romanian historians delivered the following reports: "Ideas of the RCP and Its Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu on Development of the Party's Leadership in All Activities," by Dr Gheorghe Zaharia and Dr Marin Nedelea, "From the RCP's Experience in Consolidating Its Ranks, Improving Its Members, and Forming Their Moral-Political

Characteristics To Meet Current Requirements," by Dr Gheorghe Surpat and Dr Ion Tiberian, "Improving the Working Methods and Approach of the Local RCP Organizations and Organs in the Present Stage," by Paraschiva Nichita, and "Expansion of Internal Party Democracy Basic to Communists' Greater Responsibility for Implementing Party Policy," by Gheorghe Tudor.

The first report of the Soviet Historians, prepared by Dr P. A. Rodionov, was on the subject of "Continuing Improvement of Internal Party Relations As a Main Requirement for the CPSU's Successful Performance of Its Growing Role in the Society of Developed Socialism."

The author said, "The period of developed socialism marks a new stage in the life and development of the party itself. In this stage the interaction, determined by historical experience itself, between internal party life and the extent of its influence upon the various processes of social development are considerably more important or, in other words, the role and importance of the influence of internal party life upon the entire life of society are more important." He also said in his report that the technical literature in the USSR quite rightly brings out "the influence of social relations, built on socialist and collectivist foundations, upon the party itself and upon its internal life. In other words, there is an organic bond between social relations and internal party relations."

P. A. Rodionov pointed out that the party influences the development of society and socialist democracy both directly, as a guiding force and a nucleus of the political system, and by the example of its internal life. The characteristic standards and principles of socialist democracy were first evidenced and asserted in the practice of the Communist Party and then became basic to the operation of the whole political system of socialism. This "repetition" of the standards and principles is "due to the fact that both the CPSU and the Soviet political system have the same social foundation and are developed on the basis of the same intrinsic laws, which are either common or very similar. And the party, as a leader and organizer with a sound knowledge of the laws of social development, plays the deciding role in defining, preparing and promoting the standards and principles of the political system of society." The author said that many standards and principles of internal party life as well as ways and means of party and administrative work "now serve and will serve all the more in the future as major criteria and the best models for gradual improvement of the entire system of socialist democracy and for setting the standards of communist self-management."

After considering a wide range of problems of definition of internal party relations as a general concept and as a category of party construction, and after quoting the subject literature with exhaustive references to the Romanian works and studies emphasizing aspects of internal party relations, P. A. Rodionov took up the mechanism whereby internal party life and relations influence social experience. He said, "The dynamism of contemporary social experience and the constantly growing proportions and complexity of the socioeconomic changes are making increasing demands upon the party and its internal life. The party is making every effort to meet those demands and to perfect the whole system of internal party relations, regarding it as one of the major requirements for its success in managing communist construction, intensifying the influence of its internal life upon society as a whole, and gradually setting the standards of communist self-management."

In this connection the report examined some problems of the party's internal development and its internal relations, such as party membership and growth of the CPSU's ranks, development of internal party democracy and consolidation of party discipline, communists' greater responsibility, consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, and party democracy as the democracy of revolutionary action.

P. A. Rodionov said, "The great prestige of the CPSU, which reflects the entire people's interests and aspirations, is clearly indicated by the constant growth of its ranks. But this growth is not spontaneous but closely and purposefully regulated according to scientific criteria that have been substantiated and verified by a wealth of experience, so that the composition of the CPSU will enable it to perform its tasks of social management successfully." And he went on to say that the CPSU attaches primary importance to improvement of the qualitative composition of its ranks in every way and to intensifying the communists' activity and responsibility for fulfillment of the regulation obligations. "The whole effort to regulate the growth of the party's ranks and to intensify the communists' activity and responsibility is based upon the Leninist principle that the importance of the quality of the party member must be increasingly emphasized, and the fact that the party membership is fundamental to party construction."

The report brought out the fact that "Conditions have been created for further strengthening the party's ties with the working class and the entire people and for raising the standard of general and cultural-technical studies as well as the political indoctrination of the workers, leading to greater possibilities for improving the qualitative composition of the CPSU. It also follows that development of society and the party itself increases the demands upon the party's qualitative composition, which should reflect social changes and help to improve the allocation of the party's forces. This policy serves the cause of organizational, political and ideological consolidation of the CPSU as a supreme form of social-political organization of the working class and the Soviet people as a whole."

The report pointed out that now that the social base of the party has become the entire people, the leadership of the working class "is not only not declining but on the contrary is growing in our society, and though the party has become a developed party of the entire people under socialism, it has been and still is the party of the working class, the decisive force in the struggle to implement communist ideals. The CPSU solves the problems of regulating the party's composition on that basis.

"The party also supplements its ranks with representatives of the kolkhoz peasantry, in the interests of further consolidation of the alliance of the working class and peasants, and with representatives of the intelligentsia and especially specialists in the national economy as well as scientists and intellectuals. This is a reflection of the growing role of the intelligentsia in the developed socialist society."

It was pointed out in the report that consistent development of internal party democracy and greater demands upon every party member "are not a past stage but the basis of party development in our time. By proceeding steadfastly in this direction the party and all its units have made good progress in consolidating their organization in further stimulating and invigorating internal life, in extensively involving the masses of communists in preparation and implementation of general party policy, in further strengthening collective management, in developing criticism and self-criticism, and in tightening party discipline.

"The party has made a steady effort to improve its organizational structure to meet the requirements of democratic centralism. Successful efforts were made to find organizational forms of construction (primarily of the lower echelons and especially of the primary party organizations) in keeping with the contemporary requirements and especially with the processes going on in connection with allocation of the productive forces and continuing intensification of socialist socialization through development of the production, scientific-production, agroindustrial and other associations and interunit complexes."

P. A. Rodionov pointed out that "Full perfection of the democratic foundations of its internal life has been and still is the first consideration in the party's development. As experience shows, by taking that course the party achieves the necessary organization and coherence of its ranks, keeps expanding its ties with the masses, and further strengthens its authority as a leading and guiding force in society."

The healthy, creative atmosphere in the party is decisive in creating the general atmosphere and favorable political climate in the nation as well as the Soviet people's good attitude toward work. Therefore it is also important in the future to improve internal relations in every way on the firm basis of the Leninist standards and principles of party construction."

At this point the author took up the problems of further development of internal party democracy and reinforcement of party discipline. "Party democracy is based upon unconditional implementation of a series of important traditional principles that determine the democratic character of internal party relations. It is primarily a matter of eligibility, the system of reports, and the collective nature of decisions made together and consequently in a democratic way. Intensifying internal party democracy means carrying out those principles in consideration of the new conditions, demands and possibilities of life."

As the report pointed out, development of the CPSU's internal democracy has always been inseparable from consolidation of party discipline. "Increasing importance is attached to the ethical factors of political maturity, profound communist awareness and high sense of discipline of the communists and to development of their sense of personal responsibility for the state of affairs in their own collectives and in society as a whole and for implementation of the general party policy."

In conclusion, P. A. Rodionov pointed out that "The Communist Party, like any living social organism, is developed and perfected as the tasks presented by the historical process change and grow more complex. The party's structure, social composition, ways and means of practical activity, tasks and tactical policy change according to the particular conditions. As it said in the Report to the 25th Party Congress on the Activity of the CPSU Central Committee, 'The party and the nature of its activity are by no means inflexible. Party work acquires a new content in every stage.'" For the further growth of the party's leadership, "development of the party itself and of its internal relations on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideas and principles is becoming critically important. The party's growing and increasingly complex tasks cannot be accomplished unless it develops as a living organism and unless its unity, coherence and diligence are continually intensified in the course of that development. That is why the CPSU attaches critical importance to the strictest and most consistent observance of the Leninist standards of party life and the principles of management by the party, and to improvement of the approach and ways and means of party work as well as the whole system of internal party relations, in order to constantly

strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the CPSU's ranks in that way and to enhance the party's prestige and influence as a leading force in the society of developed socialism in the future as well."

Then Dr V. I. Bondar's report on "The Nature of Internal Party Relations and Their Evolution Under Present Conditions" was read. The author pointed out that internal party relations "are relations based upon the communists' ideological convictions and dedication, their awareness and sense of responsibility, and their intensive activity and strict observance of party discipline. Based upon the eternal Leninist principles and the standards of party life, internal party relations in the period of developed socialism embody the glorious traditions of our party's organizational construction while reflecting the creative nature of the Leninist doctrine of the revolutionary party of the working class. Developed and enriched in the revolutionary struggle and in the course of socialist and communist construction, these relations entirely correspond to the objective laws of the party's development and reflect the scientific character of party construction."

As it said in the report, the maturity of internal party relations in the stage of developed socialism "depends on the sustained effort to improve the party's composition, to carry out the principle of democratic centralism consistently, and to consolidate the unity of the party's ranks." The 26th CPSU Congress "set very high standards of observance of the norms of communist morality for those who join the party and all party members. Including all the ethical principles of the socialist way of life, the party ethics require communists to guide themselves in their behavior by standards in keeping with the high title of a party member and his mission, namely the provisions of the Program and Regulations and the general and particular rules operative under the circumstances specified by the respective documents, as for example the traditions of a profound optimism, of friendship and mutual aid on an ideological basis, of sincere and friendly relations, of an effort to create a friendly and constructive working atmosphere in a collective, etc."

V. I. Bondar said the further improvement and development of internal party relations are based upon consistent implementation of the principle of democratic centralism, all-around development of internal party democracy, development of the spirit of initiative of the communists and the party organizations, and upon strengthening their sense of responsibility and their discipline. Strict observance and correct application of the principle of democratic centralism enables the party to make effective use of all communists' creative initiative, energy and abilities. Thanks to this principle, the activity of the communists and the party organizations is precisely and well directed, local, personal and group interests are subordinated to the general interests, and all party activity is consolidated and acquires a new power because of strong internal discipline. The principle of democratic centralism lends great flexibility to the party, unity to all its detachments, and efficiency to their work. "Only strict observance of the democratic principles of party life in close connection with consolidation of the centralized character of the party's actions makes it possible to ensure the correctness of internal party relations and the successful performance of the leading role of the CPSU."

It was pointed out in the report that one of the most important means of achieving this end "is unity of the party's ranks, the fact that all its members and organizations are guided by uniform ideological, tactical and organizational principles that they carry out in practice."

The author said, "Regular information about party policy, one of the most important aspects of internal party relations, is essential to optimal operation of the entire party mechanism, the best interaction of all its units, and its high level of organization, militance and flexibility." The 26th CPSU Congress required "internal party information to be further improved, made more effective, and used as a means to consolidation and further development of internal party relations."

V. I. Bondar pointed out in conclusion that "The CPSU is a powerful social-political organization that influences all the nation's activities, economic, social and intellectual. As a uniform and well-organized force, the party imparts this level of organization to the ranks of the working class, the kolkhoz peasantry and the intelligentsia, merging all their creative efforts in a single stream toward a common goal. Accordingly internal party relations are designed and developed so as to fully contribute to implementation of the tasks of managing the construction of developed socialism and communism that are facing the party."

N. D. Okonova presented the report on "Development of Internal Party Democracy and of the Communists' Active Spirit and Sense of Responsibility As an Important Factor for Developing the Role of the Primary Party Organizations in the Present Stage." The author pointed out that development of the CPSU's role in scientific treatment of the problems of communist construction, in determining the correct political policy, and in organizing the masses for the latter's practical implementation directly depends upon the activity of all party organizations and concerns all party echelons from top to bottom. It is particularly important to amplify the militance of the primary party organizations. They are the foundation of the CPSU, form its ramified root system, and serve as active disseminators of party policy. The more intensively they act the more extensively and completely is the party's leadership implemented and its political policy promoted.

As it said in the report, party democracy begins with the primary organization, where the communists go through the school of practical work and acquire their ideological indoctrination. The nature of the primary organization's democratism is primarily reflected in consistent promotion of the principle of eligibility and of the reports. "V. I. Lenin defined democratism as the general application of the principle of eligibility. Accordingly the eligibility of the party organs and their leaders, raised by the Regulations to the rank of a standard of party life, is one of the most important criteria for democratic organization of the party. The rule adopted by the CPSU to propose and discuss the candidacies for the party bureaus and party committees of the primary organizations is a profoundly democratic one, and it is developed by the party."

The author said that in consistently following the policy of further development of internal party democracy "the CPSU is trying to consistently apply the standards of the reports to all the primary party organizations. The reports system as well as eligibility are general and obligatory, being the most important way of involving the masses of communists in the solution of the problems confronting their own organizations and the party as a whole and a tried means of heightening the sense of responsibility for the state of affairs, of developing the spirit of initiative, of influencing the activity of their own leaders, and of controlling the activity of the management organs elected by them." Each reports and election campaign "bears witness to the intensive activity of the masses of party members and is an important aspect of evaluation of the communists' growing initiative. The communists' increasingly positive attitude, their constructive approach in a working spirit to the problems of

communist construction, their widespread criticism and self-criticism, and their aspiration to improve the approach and methods of management with greater perseverance are distinctive features of the party election and reports campaigns held in recent years."

In the development of the system of reports on the communists in its most varied forms "the party sees the most important means of reinforcing the control of the masses of party members over the activity of the party organs and their leaders and of continuing to develop internal party democracy."

As it was pointed out in the report, democratism in the life and activity of the party organizations is clearly evidenced in the implementation of the principle of collective management. "Collective management in the primary party organization means the common activity in complete harmony not only of the members of the elected organs but of all the communists in planning the work, preparing the party assemblies and meetings and those of the party committees or bureaus, and drafting and implementing the decisions. Hundreds of thousands of communists serve on commissions of the primary party organizations to exercise the right of control over the administration's activity and millions of them serve as lecturers, speakers, propagandists and agitators. The participation of every member of the primary organization in party activity, in formation of the management cadres, in preparation and implementation of party policy, and in evaluation and control of the cadres' activity is proof of the dialectical interaction of the particular and the general and the combination of the political interests and efforts of the communists with the interests of their own party collective and of the party as a whole. The CPSU is perfecting and developing internal party democracy fully realizing that it is the only way to secure extensive possibilities for the most complete development and application of the creative powers of the army of many millions of communists."

In the author's view the continuing structural improvement of the primary organizations and the appearance of new organizational forms (uniform party organizations in the production centers, councils of secretaries in the agricultural and production associations, party committees in the construction trusts and in large sections, and expanded party committees) permitted further development of the democratic bases in the life and activity of the CPSU's primary organizations. For instance the council of secretaries of party organizations in production centers helps to direct their efforts toward the common goal of resolving the main problems confronting the collective, without interfering with the autonomy of the party organizations in branches. The council is a consultative organ operating on the principles of equal authority and equal rights of all members. The expanded party committees represent a new and important step in the development of the democratic principles, initiative and active spirit of the primary organizations. They began to be formed after the 24th CPSU Congress in the largest party organizations in order to strengthen their ties with the masses of workers and the cadres of engineers and technicians, and for purposes of more qualified management of production by the party.

N. D. Okonova went on to say that the enrichment of the ways and means of the primary organizations' individual work with party members and candidates was an important development in party life. Individual work with communists is based on study of the level of the active spirit of various groups of communists, the criteria for it, its manifestations, and the effect upon it of various aspects of party work. For this purpose sociological studies are made and scientific conferences and practical programs are organized to generalize the results of development of the communists'

active spirit. Those problems are examined regularly in the primary organizations. "The exchange of party documents, which took place within the CPSU in the first half of the 1970's, helped a great deal to develop and perfect the forms of individual work and to further enhance the communists' active spirit. This actually constituted a review of the party's forces and a graphic verification of the way each communist carries out the party's decisions in practice and fulfills his regulation obligations."

The author said at the close of the report that having extensive possibilities and effective means of education and perfecting the ways and means of indoctrination, "The primary party organizations try to bring out the creative personality and the active party militant in every communist. Accordingly development of internal party democracy in every way is the most important means of improving the communists' active spirit and initiative and of creating in the party organizations an authentic Leninist atmosphere and internal party relations essential to the party's life and activity and to its performance of its growing role as a leader."

In his report on "The Leninist Approach and Internal Party Relations," A. F. Kadashev analyzed the Leninist approach "as one of the major factors that favorably affects the formation and improvement of internal party relations. The report said its power "lies primarily in the fact that it is a creative, revolutionary approach free of subjectivism and characterized by scientific treatment of all social processes. It has most fully embodied all the characteristics that distinguish the party of the new type as a party of scientific communism, all that its nature calls for, all the revolutionary changes that have been made under the party's leadership, and V. I. Lenin's qualities as a theorist and founder of the party. Consequently it is characterized by adherence to party principles, scientific and constructive treatment of the problems, revolutionary breadth and the communist working spirit, collective management combined with personal responsibility, close contact with the masses, deep respect for people and effort on behalf of their education and welfare."

The author said that the 26th CPSU Congress "held in an atmosphere of close coherence, is eloquent evidence of the party's boundless devotion to the cause of the great Lenin, his principles and his approach." The documents and decisions approved by the congress "vividly express the will of the party, its full approval of the Leninist policy and practical activity of the CPSU Central Committee, and its firm resolve to take united and immediate action to perform the great new tasks of communist construction."

The meetings of party activists, the assemblies of communists who discussed the results of the congress, "and our whole daily experience strikingly confirm the fact that the comprehensive and productive work of the congress, its Leninist approach, and its unanimous decisions that are now being consistently implemented are contributing to the further consolidation of the CPSU, to the monolithic unity of its ranks, and to the greater coherence and militance of all its echelons and of the communists' leadership. They are teaching us to work constructively in the Leninist way."

A. F. Kadashev said, "The creative, truly revolutionary nature of the Leninist approach and the strictly scientific treatment characteristic of it open up a broad field for the spirit of initiative of the communists and all Soviet people. The party's entire activity is characterized by the revolutionary scope and breadth of the changes and the participation in them of vast masses of workers. The CPSU is making constant efforts to combine this scope with the spirit of organization and a practical approach to the problems. It is quite clear that the party's creative, precise

approach to the great tasks of communist construction require that approach to be characteristic of all the party's organizational units and organizations, which consequently must be headed by people with creative capacities, initiative, competence and a high sense of obligation to the party and the people." It was noted in the report that the party is indoctrinating administrative personnel and all its members in such a spirit. "On this lasting basis it is also improving internal party relations, which are increasingly distinguished by development of the communists' creative spirit and initiative and by the more and more intensive aspiration to participate as actively as possible in the life and activity of the party organizations. The working character of the party assemblies, the bureau meetings, and the plenums of the party committees is developing noticeably. All this is unquestionably leading to greater coherence of the ranks of the party collectives and creating in them an atmosphere of progressive work, effective unification and organization, and mutual confidence and respect."

The author said, "The Leninist approach corresponds in the highest degree to development of internal party relations because it is a principled, party approach. The party character of the work of a party activist, as we know, lies in the conformity of all his actions with the party's policy and interests and with the interests of the people. Adherence to principles is the essence of the party character of the communists' activity, and the respective concepts are inseparable. The communist ideological convictions, an alloy of disciplines, convictions and practical actions, are basic to party spirit and adherence to principles."

In closing the author concluded that "The influence of the Leninist approach upon internal party relations is the stronger the more completely the requirements of the Leninist approach are met in the activity of the party, of all its organizational units, and of all party organizations and the more completely discipline and the spirit of real work are combined with bold initiative (as it was said at the 26th CPSU Congress) and the aspiration to great goals, and intolerance of defects with firm confidence in the historical advantages of the chosen course." In their turn the internal relations established in the party no less actively affect the party's approach. As experience proves, it is only with correct and mature internal party relations and a party discipline of great awareness that the party succeeds in teaching every communist, regardless of his position, to master the Leninist approach. Being in a profound interaction, our party's Leninist approach and internal party relations constantly perfect each other and accordingly favor intensive development of the CPSU's leadership in the life of Soviet society and in communist construction."

R. S. Yemtsova took up in her report a series of problems concerning "Control and Verification of Task Fulfillment As a Major Means of Improving Internal Party Relations." In the author's view party control is a higher form of socialist control, which includes both state and public control. "The difference between party control and other forms of control is that by its nature party control is a political control to which, in addition to organizational tasks, the tasks of communists' political and moral education are entrusted." The report mentioned that the importance of party control in the present stage is determined both by the purpose and by a number of factors affecting it, namely the volume and complexity of the tasks of constructing developed socialism and communism, the higher level of the party's entire organizational activity, improvement of internal party relations, and the continuing development of the initiative and active spirit of the communists and the masses of workers.

In its practical activity the CPSU "proceeds from the fact that control and organization of task fulfillment form a single process of party organizational activity and

directs the communists who exercise control to carefully distinguish all that is positive, to discover the causes of the defects and help eliminate them, and to maintain in the collective an atmosphere of security and of work and a creative state of mind, which has a considerable effect upon development of internal party relations."

In the process of improving control, "The preventive nature of control and its main purpose of preventing any possible errors and defects in the work are becoming increasingly evident. To this end, criticism and self-criticism are being constantly developed, the favorable results of control organization are being better generalized, and direct participation of managers in control is being increased."

R. S. Yemtsova said, "An outstanding part in enhancing the effectiveness of party control was played by the CPSU's measures to enlarge the circle of primary party organizations authorized to control the administration's activity. Extension of the right to control the administration's activity to nearly all the primary organizations considerably enlarged the scope of party control and enriched its content and methods. "This increased the opportunities of the party organizations to influence all aspects of the activity of the collectives in enterprises, institutions, educational institutions etc. effectively and with a well-defined purpose."

In connection with the firm establishment of the policy of essentially increased demands upon party members on both the political-ideological level and the level of moral ethics, the report pointed out that within the CPSU the core of party control has been and is the unrelenting struggle for strict observance of the CPSU Program and Regulations, of party and state discipline, and of the standards of communist morality. In making the most exacting demands upon its members, the CPSU also considers it "necessary to approach communists in full conformity with the democratic character of our party and with the Leninist recommendations and guidelines on this subject, which are fraught with concern for friendly confidence, high standards and justice."

The report said in conclusion that analysis of party experience reveals the main idea that "Improvement of the ways and means of organizational work in all party echelons exercising control helps to improve the party's approach, to further improve internal party relations, and finally to raise the level of administrative activity."

Discussions were held on the subject of the Romanian and Soviet reports presented at the symposium, and they contributed specifications and qualifications as well as new analytical considerations. The discussions were conducted in a businesslike atmosphere characteristic of the spirit of close and friendly collaboration.

The delegation of Soviet historians, headed by P. A. Rodionov, was received by Ion Popescu-Puturi, director of the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee. The meeting was the occasion for presenting the good results of the Romanian-Soviet scientific meeting, which conformed to the traditional policy of the good relations established between the Institute of Historical and Social-Political Studies under the RCP Central Committee and the Institute of Marxism-Leninism under the CPSU Central Committee, making new contributions in that direction. A number of ideas were also mentioned that followed from facts and aspects of significant interest and impact in the histories of the RCP and the CPSU, as well as the power of diffusion of those ideas in our time and their role as a basis and subject of fertile and lasting collaboration between the two parties and countries and between the Romanian and Soviet historians on that basis.

EXCESSIVE BUYING CAUSES 'DISTURBANCES' IN FOOD SUPPLY SYSTEM

Customers, Clerks Guilty

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Sep 81 p 5

[Article by I. Butnaru: "'Generous' Customers, With the Intention of Speculating--Some People Hoard Out of Greed, Others, to Resell at High Prices"]

[Excerpts] The supplying of the population with food products is a complex commercial activity, based on the natural needs of the population, on the immediate and long-term requirements. Taking into consideration the continued increase in consumer demands, fluctuations in the population as a result of the intense process of urbanization and other demographic phenomena, the trade network has provided for and ensured, especially in regard to basic products, increased quantities of food, from year to year.

However, spurred on by a desire to make money and to obtain profits without earning them, some individuals go to the stores and the markets obsessed by thoughts which are completely different from those of the majority of citizens. They buy much more than they actually need, some out of greed and others out of a desire to speculate. Such people end up by throwing out the rancid oil, the spoiled flour or meal and the other products packed into their pantries. They are guilty before society for the destruction of necessary products and the artificial creation of gaps in the supplying of the population.

The phenomenon is like this: by buying large quantities a disbalance in the normal supplying of the population is created, both directly and indirectly, (causing a psychosis). In the next phase, the situation created is exploited by the practice of speculation. This is a word which is related, in essence, to oversupplying. And other things are related to speculation--preferential or "under the counter" sales, the concealing of goods, the use of higher prices, etc.

Such "reptiles" have raised their heads during recent weeks in Bucharest when some individuals have taken advantage of the period in which the trade network has been intensifying season preparations. Here are some examples: Gheorghe Alexandru (Soseaua Berceni 30) collected 100 kg of sugar in his pantry, "using it" for the others on the block, "so that everyone would be satisfied," especially ...

his pocket. The clerks Vasile Radulescu and Vasile Banateanu from the Obor market, were also thinking of their own pockets, waiting for more "generous" customers for the 195 kg and 91 kg of olives. But their actions are relatively minor compared to those of the managers of the food store on Calea Mosilor No 238--Gheorghe Oprisan and Stefan Banu—who hid (and sold to "lovers" of hidden stock, at speculative prices) hundreds of boxes of imported preserves, 114 kg of flour, 1,028 liters of apricot brandy, 970 liters of plum brandy, and 240 kg of olives. The planned selling system has been diminished by the actions of these speculators.

We have not listed all the cases here. We have presented these cases only as an illustration of the causes which result in disturbances in the proper supplying of the population and which create difficulties in the trade sector. Obviously, such phenomena are intolerable and require a combining of the efforts of the population, with high civic responsibility and awareness, in collaboration with the authorities and with the workers in trade, for the purpose of putting an end to these practices immediately. There is a sufficient supply and variety of food products. Supplies of the major products for the winter have been set up and are being set up. The fruits of the autumn are rich and we need a thrifty spirit and a firm civic attitude to enjoy them fully.

Speculators, Hoarders Condemned

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 23 Sep 81 pp 1, 5

[Editorial: "A Sufficient Supply of Goods, Superior to Previous Years, for the Normal Supplying of the Population--But Some People Are Buying 'by the Sackful,' for Speculation or out of Greed"]

[Excerpts] According to Gheorghe Preda, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council, during the third quarter of 1981, 29,500 tons of meat were made available to the people of Bucharest, compared to 28,900 tons in 1980, as well as 9,475 tons of meat products, compared to 8,168 in 1980, 82,500 tons of bread, compared to 75,600 tons in 1980, and 66,000 tons of vegetables, compared to 43,000 tons in 1980, etc.

Of course, such increases--which, as we know, require great efforts on the part of the state--are felt in practically every family. Romania ranks among the top 10 countries in the world in respect to the number of calories consumed per capita, a fact which is eloquent proof of the effect of the program for the proper supplying of the population.

Therefore, it is all the more necessary for us to use this food supply with special care and with high civic responsibility, in the interests of each one of us. However, this obligation is violated by those who confuse their own pantry with a depository for food products! There are some--always the same ones--who never stop buying, either out of ferocious egotism or, more seriously, to speculate with the respective products, thus defying, intolerably, the efforts of the state, our work, our interests and the interests of the majority of the citizens.

In all countries, the stock of products is planned for a normal supplying process, in accordance with real consumer needs, so that each one can be supplied. But if some people swarm in like locusts, buying much more than is necessary then, obviously, no matter how rapidly the shelves are restocked, irregularities result. It is logical to say that those who buy by the sack-load actually are taking products away from the market bags of the citizens, of the many, of those who buy according to their needs.

Unfortunately, this fauna of "professional buyers" simply empties the racks and bins, buying, by the lot, all sorts of things, in far from negligible quantities--to stock up or even to speculate.

How do such "Harpagons" manage to get such quantities? They go from store to store, collecting 2 kg here and another 2 kg there. They cover up their greed by starting all sorts of rumors, without any real basis. For example, Dumitru Gheorghe of Calea Vacaresti No 51 bought several kilograms of sugar from the store at Calea Vacaresti No 30. The head of the unit, Elvira Florea told us: "The next day we saw him again, asking for more sugar. He was told that his actions hurt the other citizens. He raised the roof. It is no wonder that last month our store sold 8,000 kg of sugar. This amount used to last for several months."

But it is not only sugar which is being piled up in the pantries of some people. How much salad is Ioana Udrea making to use 18 liters of oil (in addition to 29 kg of sugar)? Let us remember what Ioana Leondari, chemist in the health and anti-epidemic center said: "Food products are perishable and are good for a certain period of time. After this, they taste and smell differently and they can cause digestive disturbances and other health problems." Therefore, the "pack rats" are not collecting solely for their own use. One such speculator is Dumitru Puscasu who has been arrested for business dealings amounting to hundreds of thousands of lei; his shelves were filled with 100 kg of sugar purchased for the purpose of making alcoholic beverages illegally, for the black market.

Was it not for speculation that Rebeca Gheorghe and Vasilica Maruntelu (of Mihaiesti-Argeș Commune) bought 700 kg of flour? The fact that it is a question of business and not of normal supplying was evident since they did not hesitate to bribe Lenuta Mosteanu (salesclerk in food store No 1 in Jilava), offering her 630 lei. We cannot fail to mention the responsibility of workers in the trade network who do not prevent these flagrantly destructive practices although they are supposed to be responsible for the wise administration of the supply of products.

Examining these few examples which, justifiably, arouse the indignation of all people of good will. We emphasize, once more, the need for firm intervention on the part of citizens and of public opinion, to put an end to all tendencies toward hoarding and speculation.

During the fourth quarter of this year, 38,000 tons of meat, 12,437 tons of meat products, 311,000 hl. of milk, 14,600 tons of sugar and 8,500 tons of oil will be provided for the people of Bucharest. This year's harvest ensures the normal supplying of the population, up to the next harvest. What we must understand and what is demanded of us is the obligation to manage the entire stock of products with high responsibility and use it wisely and sparingly.

Food Distribution System Improved

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Sep 81 p 2

[Article by Mircea Scripca: "The Supplying of the Population for the Fall and Winter--What Action Is Being Taken to Execute the Program"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Corneliu Nicolae, director of the trade directorate in the General Economic Directorate for Horticulture in the Ministry of the Food Industry told us: Our entire apparatus is involved in actions in the area of supply, undertaken in the countries for the execution of the important tasks assigned to us in this peak supplying period.

During the month of September alone, some 88,000 tons of potatoes, 160,000 tons of field vegetables, including onions, peppers, tomatoes, etc., 26,000 tons of fruit and 40,000 tons of grapes have been sold or will be sold to the people. During October, even larger quantities will be provided for sale: 120,000 tons of potatoes, 200,000 tons of field vegetables, 40,000 tons of fruit and 60,000 tons of grapes.

In order to be able to market such a large volume of vegetable products, measures have been taken to set up more than 10,000 seasonal sales units in markets, in localities in the country, in districts, next to large enterprises, etc. Also, numerous salespersons from other commercial sectors have been brought in. I would like to emphasize that the yields of potatoes, vegetables and fruits this year permit us to ensure the good supplying of the population.

Question: What details can you give us in this regard?

Answer: According to the supply program drawn up for the fall and winter, the following will [be] placed at the disposal of the people for this entire period--until the new harvest appears--: more than 500,000 tons of potatoes (38 percent more than in the preceding period), about 650,000 tons of field vegetables (57 percent more), 56,000 tons of hothouse vegetables (7 percent more), 132,000 tons of root vegetables (94 percent more), more than 200,000 tons of cabbage (39 percent more). Also, compared to the previous period, 164,000 tons of fruit (13 percent more than in the preceding period) and about 100,000 tons of grapes (69 percent more) will be put on the market.

The continuing contribution of Covasna and Harghita counties in harvesting and delivering potatoes and of Arad, Constanta, Bihor, Dolj, Olt and Teleorman counties in regard to field vegetables should be noted. In the other counties, all forces

should be mobilized to obtain results like those of the outstanding counties, so that the entire yield of vegetables and fruits will be harvested and delivered on time. Large quantities of potatoes, vegetables and fruits are being brought, on a continuing basis, to the depositories for the storing and ensiling of products. In this way, the necessary reserves for the regular supplying of the population during the cold weather will be ensured.

In addition, special attention is being given to improving conditions for the marketing of vegetables and fruits, by the modernization of existing markets and the construction of new markets where necessary. Comrade Nicolae Blajan, deputy director general in the Ministry of Domestic Trade, informs us that after the new markets, including the modern food market in Bacau, are put into use and after others are expanded and rearranged, additional work will be done this year. For example, a modern market with an area of 3,500 square meters and 24 rows of stands has been set up in the "Bucaresti" district of the city.

The list of new constructions and renovations of markets for agricultural and food products for this year includes: markets and sales areas for products in Craiova, Botosani, Slatina, Miercurea-Ciuc. Markets in Tirgu Jiu, Sfintu Gheorghe, Tulcea and Dragasani will be renovated. In order to improve conditions for supplying food to the miners in the city of Motru, the existing food market is being expanded and modernized and this work will be completed in the first quarter of next year.

Question: What is being done in this area in the capital?

Answer: Bucharest has more than 40 food markets. As a result of modernization, a good part of these have become real trade centers. Last year, markets such as Amzei, Dorobanti, Militari II and Rahova have had their sales areas extended and covered so that they can carry on their activity under good conditions in the cold weather. This year the Marasesti, Ferentari and Moghioros markets are undergoing the same type of renovations.

Question: There are other markets, such as the one on Strada Aurel Vlaicu, which, are not sufficiently utilized, although they have been modernized. Why?

Answer: Indeed such situations occur despite the measures taken by the trade organs. The Aurel Vlaicu market, although small, is very useful to citizens in the district. However, in addition to the poor support received from the supply units, the individual producers were not instructed to bring their products here and the citizens started going to other markets. There are other similar shortcomings. We believe that the six markets in Cluj-Napoca Municipality are insufficient for a population of about 300,000 residents.

We believe that it is necessary that the responsible organs take measures to provide sufficient space for the sale of vegetables and fruits in the new districts and in the older districts of the localities and to ensure that existing space is better utilized. The markets should be kept clean and the products should be kept in good condition. There should be a stricter control over the price system,

blocking any attempts at speculation. In particular, there should be a more thorough control over those people--who are not agricultural producers--who buy up products second or third hand and then resell them at higher prices. Every attempt to profit in this way should be curbed. Also, all the personnel in the sales units should be engaged in selling products at all times. There are some trade workers who leave their workplaces to take care of personal business or who hide in the back of the units and this results in artificial lines of customers.

Food for Bucharest Markets

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Sep 81 p 4

[Excerpts] As has been stressed, there are sufficient supplies of agricultural and food products to satisfy the needs for rational consumption for the people of Bucharest during the fall and winter. The figures presented in the course of a conversation with Comrade Gheorghe Preda, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the people's council of Bucharest municipality, made public on 23 September, clearly showed that for the principal products the quantities sold so far this year are considerably greater than those sold last year.

The supplying of the market will continue at a rate which is in accord with rational consumer demands. Since the third quarter is almost completed, we will supplement the data published 2 days ago with the definite prospects for the supply of commodities for the next few months of the year.

<u>Products</u>	<u>Surpluses in tons for the third quarter of 1981 compared to the third quarter of 1980</u>	<u>Surpluses in tons for the fourth quarter of 1981 compared to the third quarter of 1981</u>
Meat	600	8,987
Meat products	1,307	3,037
Butter	365	354
Oil	1,394	431
Flour	4,346	2,000
Milk	19,600 hl.	68,000 hl
Eggs	24 million	12 million

As one can see from the table it is a matter of substantial increases. Although during the 3d quarter of the current year larger quantities were delivered than during the corresponding period of the preceding year, these quantities will be greatly exceeded by deliveries during the 4th quarter.

This is why it is advisable and necessary that the population supply itself normally and avoid tendencies to over-supply. This will contribute to the development, under good conditions, of the activity of the stores, the markets and the entire food trade system.

Wine-making Depletes Sugar

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by I. Stefan: "'The Sugar-Eaters' and 'Privately-Made Wines'--Practices Which Violate the Provisions of the 'Law on Vineyards and Wine'"]

[Text] This year is proving to be a good year for harvesting grapes. The markets of Bucharest, supplied with all sorts of grapes requested and appreciated by the people are evidence of this.

The strange thing is the appearance in different markets of the capital, including Piata Obor, of large-capacity trucks--hired by various agricultural units--which market grapes directly, not by the kilogram but by the hundreds of kilograms. Then the grapes are taken home by customers in cars or trucks. Some private producers are also selling grapes in the same large quantities. What connection can the sale of hundreds of kilograms have with the demands for rational consumption?

For what purpose are these quantities of grapes purchased? Obviously, for wine-making. Certainly not by vinegrowers, not by persons who grow vines legally on the lands which they cultivate. The "purchasers by the ton," defying the norms of ethics and equity, have created an illegal source of profit from making grapes into wine, using sugar bought on the market to increase their "own" production of wine--and, of course, to increase the profit. To the grapes purchased by the car-load one adds the sugar purchased--by the same and by different means--by the sack, or more precisely, by the sacks.

It is obvious that this creates difficulties in the supplying of sugar to the people. In addition, such practices violate legal provisions in force and the "Law on Vineyards and Wines." The responsible organs must intervene to curb these practices so that the quantities of grapes intended for winemaking will be processed in the units stipulated by law and the agricultural units will honor their obligations to the state and table grapes will be sold to the population for normal, rational consumption.

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ROMANIA

EFFECTIVE OPERATION OF WORKERS' DEMOCRACY HAILED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 20 Jul 81 pp 1-3

[Article by Ion Florea of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: "The Functionality of the System of Our Workers' Democracy"]

[Text] The Second Congress of the Workers Councils is recorded as an important moment in the ever more powerful affirmation of socialist democracy and self-management. The fact itself that it discussed and approved the draft sole national economic-social development plan for the country during the current five year plan, just as the Congress of the Peasantry earlier examined the draft five year development plan for agriculture and the food industry, illustrates the broad democracy in our social life and the fact that socialism opens the perspectives of democracy in which the people, lead by the working class, are the actual holders of the power, which they exercise to their own benefit. The exclusion of relationships of exploitation and domination and the establishment of certain relationships of alliance, unity and cooperation, equality and equity, and collaboration and self-assistance give a new content to democratic life. Certainly, socialist democracy is not affirmed in and of itself by virtue of an implacable determinism that would work in the operation of a new social order. Objective requirements and laws are not spontaneously imposed, with conscious factors acquiring a special weight and role in the creation of conditions for actions for the masses.

The process of building a new social order is not, however, safe from certain dysfunctionalities and contradictions and the possibility of the appearance of certain phenomena that alienate and violate democratic principles and of certain bureaucratic manifestations. In order to avoid the appearance of certain dysfunctionalities and contradictions that are foreign to the nature of the new order and the essence and design of the socialist state and its organisms, the party expresses concern for optimizing the activities of the state and social organisms and for strengthening the ties with the masses and furthering their democratic means of operation.

Such an overall socialist society and the institutional system of democracy constitute a living organism which evolves and develops along with the working class - the leading social force in society, with the peasantry and with the intelligentsia, while improving the relationships among them in the sense of

weaving their activities more closely together and homogenizing society. Such processes were also shown at the Second Congress of the Workers Councils where the party's concerns were revealed for providing increased efficiency in the system of our socialist democracy, for the purpose of ensuring the effective participation of the workers in making decisions and carrying out worker self-management. In fact, the transition to the principles of economic self-management and self-administration has meant overcoming a contradiction that had appeared between the institutionalized democratic framework and a too-centralized economic mechanism, thus resulting in the strengthening of the decisionmaking powers and direct responsibilities of the collective leadership organs and the workers.

The ever broader democracy that characterizes our socialist society creates conditions favorable to the active participation of the workers in management and in the elaboration and adoption of decisions in diverse areas. Certainly, these conditions do not automatically in and of themselves lead to good management and planning, but it can be accomplished through the people called upon to use them, to permanently improve activities, to adopt new forms and methods of work and to eliminate obsolete ones.

In our country, throughout the years a broadly representative overall system of democratic organisms has been put in place. Thus, the institutionalization of general assemblies as supreme leadership organs for the owners and producers constitutes a living expression of workers democracy in which the popular masses make decisions upon the problems of economic-social development. In the system of socialist democracy, an especially important role is played by the workers councils, which bring together approximately 114,000 people from over 6,000 economic-social units. Similarly, fora, such as the Congress of the Workers Councils, the National Council of Workers and the other congresses and councils that discuss and make decisions in the fundamental problems of Romania's domestic and international policies, express the democracy of our socialist order. All these organisms form a harmonious system, unique in its own way, which represents a new, superior form for planning and leading society in which the popular masses participate directly in the making of decisions and carrying them out. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses, "it is necessary for us to ensure an ever closer intertwining of the activities of the state organs with the new democratic organisms, giving them to a greater degree a series of responsibilities in the areas of planning and managing economic-social activities. This ensures the true democratization of state organs, the strengthening of the role of the popular masses in making decisions and carrying them out and the strengthening of the control of the working class and the popular masses over all the activities of the state organs."

The unified system of leadership in the country and the intertwining of economic and social democracy permit the broader use of masses' creative initiatives, experiences and abilities, with the essential element being ensuring the proper operation of this democratic framework and the complete use of the opportunities that it offers. Ensuring the functionality of the institutional system of socialist democracy, of each form of management of economic-social affairs and of the direct

participation of the masses in economic administration and in the solution of public affairs represents one of the significant objectives of the current stage. In this regard, the party is concerned about the continued improvement of democratic forms and methods and is adopting new means for the working class's and all the people's active and direct participation in the management of society and for the masses' permanent control over state organs. Corresponding to such orientations are the new measures adopted by the Second Workers Congress. Thus, it was decided to establish county workers councils in which all the industrial, transportation, finance and trade units in each county are to be represented. Keeping in mind the fact that the semi-annual general assemblies discuss all the problems of these units, it was felt that it was necessary to organize special general assemblies in September-October in order to discuss and approve the production plan for the next year. Similarly, it was decided to hold discussions and give approval in the leadership councils, general assemblies or conferences of the workers' representatives regarding proposals to appoint new personnel - directors, chief engineers and so forth - prior to the decisionmaking of higher organs. At the same, beginning with the position and responsibility that the worker management organs have in the proper administration of that portion of the national wealth entrusted to them, the reception of new people within the collectives in the enterprises or institutes is to be carried out with the approval of the leadership council and the general assembly in the section or sector where these people will be working. Similarly, proposals for punishing or removing people from the collective who violate order and discipline will be discussed within the framework of this collective.

At a central level, it was established that the government will annually present before the National Council of Workers reports regarding the fulfillment of the state plan and the economic-social development of the country.

Naturally, in order to give an ever more democratic sense to and increase the efficiency of the management of all economic-social affairs it is necessary, as was shown at the congress, to improve the organization, forms and methods of work within the framework of all the organisms that exist in our society - from the state organs to the trade unions, from the organizations for democracy and socialist unity to those for the youth and women. It is necessary to have everywhere a dynamic, revolutionary work style that is open to new things and capable of mobilizing and directing the creative energies towards the fulfillment of the goals of socialist society.

Giving all the social classes and categories and all the citizens participation in political affairs and in the leadership of society under conditions of full equality, liberty and awareness of the cause, the socialist order and our socialist state represent the most democratic expression of the leadership of society by the people. Thus, we are standing before certain new social-political realities which bring to the daily agenda - on a theoretical level and on a social practice level - the notion of worker democracy or a state of worker democracy, a notion that corresponds to a new historical stage of socialist construction and clearly reveals the superiority of the new social order.

In our party's view, socialist democracy in general and workers democracy in particular constitute a means of organizing social and interpersonal relations according to the principles and values of the new order, beginning with the workers' position as producers, owners and users. It is incompatible with a lack of discipline and spontaneity as a mentality, concept and mode of action, and with a tolerance for certain acts contrary to the interests of the people. At the Second Congress of the Workers Councils comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "The continued development of workers democracy and the improvement of the framework for the direct participation of the popular masses in the management of all sectors require the firm application of the state's laws and the strengthening of order and discipline, collective responsibility and individual responsibility for the proper operation of all activities in the respective enterprises and institutes." Participation in management requires the full involvement of each person in the fulfillment of decisions that have been made, of plan tasks and of responsibilities on-the-job, and the responsibility towards the collective for any nonfulfillment and for any act of indiscipline and violation of the country's laws.

The strengthening of the role of the socialist state and its organs in economic-social management and planning does not exclude, but, on the contrary, requires ensuring the conditions for the ever broader participation of the working class and all social categories in the drawing up and substantiation of the plan and in the management and exercise of the people's review of the state organs in the different sectors of activity. This blending between the two facets of the operation of our profoundly democratic political system, which in the current stage and in the future will become ever more closer and deeper, is capable of protecting the state organisms from the danger of alienating the masses, of losing contact with life and warning about the dangers of the temptation of abuse, technocratism and bureaucratism.

Giving all the social classes and categories and all the citizens, regardless of their nationality, participation in political affairs and in the leadership of society under conditions of full equality, liberty and awareness of the cause, the socialist order and our socialist state represent the most democratic expression of the leadership of society by the people. Under these conditions, in which there is a broad system of direct and representative economic and political democracy through which the masses participate in the leadership of society, to use the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat to define the content of the socialist order and the state's activities would mean our applying an old label to a content that it has not fit for a long time, thus misrepresenting the democratic essence of the socialist state. The replacement of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the idea of workers democracy or a state of workers democracy better characterizes the essence of our social order and socialist state.

Such an interpretation fitting the social-political realities in Romania has in mind, at the same time, the historical perspective of the disappearance of the state, which will be achieved through the development of the democratic forms of leadership of society, through the furthering of self-management and the blending of the state's activities with those of the organisms of socialist democracy, through the assumption, in the end, of the leadership functions and the review of all social activities by the people themselves and by the organisms of worker and public democracy, and through the broadening of the working class's and all the people's participation in the leadership of society. This process is achieved in a certain incipient form, certainly, under our own eyes, with some structures of democracy constituting the premises for the future evolution of the state. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out: "Through our democratic congresses and organisms we are, in fact, carrying out these forms, which are combined with the activities of the state's organisms and ensure the working class's and the people's assumption of the functions of leadership and the collective review of all social activities."

The dialectic of blending the activities of the state's organisms with those of the democratic, public organisms involves, at the same time, a system of democratic organisms created years ago which simultaneously fulfill attributes of the party, state and public sector. The accumulated experience gives specific expression to the growth of the role of the political and democratic factor in our society, to the people's direct leadership of social life, to the ever more powerful affirmation of the forms of direct participative democracy, to the growth of the weight of political methods and to the restriction of the sphere of administrative methods. All this cannot mean, certainly, the substitution of public and democratic organisms for the role played by the organs of state power, the confusion of the specific attributes and functions of these organs and the decrease in the efficiency of their activities, but it raises the problem of giving a much more exact definition to the specific nature of their activities and of eliminating the tendencies of excessive centralism and voluntarism.

This perspective of the state, which cannot be understood except through the expansion of the participation by the working class and all the people in leadership, is closely tied to other processes which mark the evolution of society, such as the ever more organic integration of the party in the affairs of all of society, the raising of the general level of political-ideological and professional training and the elimination, in the future, of the differences between communists and non-communists on the level of training and responsibility on the job and in social behavior.

The exercise itself of the party's leading role is inconceivable outside the democratic framework put into action in which the party is a dynamic democratic political organism and is the vital center for initiatives and actions and whose policies ensure the uninterrupted progress of the country. The party's leadership of society is carried out not from outside of, but within social, state and economic organisms through its ever more organic integration in society.

The party's relationships with the other democratic organisms, with the mass and public organizations and with society itself are not of an exterior nature or of leadership coming from outside of them, with these appearing as simple "transmission belts" between the party and the people, but rather they are of an interior nature, of leadership from within them. The most graphic proof of this dialectic is the structure and means of operation of the Front of Democracy and Socialist Unity which, by bringing together the public and mass organizations and all the social classes and elements that make up our society under the leadership of the party, gives expression to the system of our socialist democracy and the unity of interests and aspirations of all the people, and constitutes the broadest and most representative organism of socialist democracy.

Stressing that in the new stage of development of our socialist society it is necessary to improve the general planning and leadership of society through the furthering of self-management and self-administration and through the continued accentuation of the democratization of the state apparatus, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, along with the need to consistently apply the provisions of the law on planning, that the plan will be prepared from bottom to top, from the enterprise towards the central, the branch and the ministry on the basis of a broad participation of all cadre and workers and that there is a requirement to take into greater consideration in planning the role of the market and demand, the actions of the law on resources and other economic laws, with this being an essential condition for carrying out efficient economic activities. Any social management and planning carried out in the most democratic manner must be connected to reality and its requirements and to the transformations in society. Under such conditions, without a consistently dialectic, daring, revolutionary thinking, keeping in mind the fact that both the organizational forms and the ideas referring to social-economic and political affairs are not and cannot be perpetual, presented and defined for now and forever, the forms of organization and social leadership cannot be improved. And, some of these and others and the notions and forms of social organization and leadership are modified and replaced by new forms and notions or are improved in a content corresponding to the new realities of the stage of development in society, new knowledge and scientific discoveries. Without this agreement, there can be no talk of scientific leadership, the only leadership capable of ensuring a dynamic, processual nature having a truly revolutionary policy and the adequate solution of the new problems that appear.

The consistent promotion of socialist democracy represents the appropriate path for solving contradictions, together with the people, through their direct participation in "smoothing out" the path of progress and ascension of the socialist society.

Leadership and participation in leadership represents, certainly, a conscious process achieved only in being aware of the cause. This requires involvement and responsibility and the understanding of the means of action to implement decisions, objectives and tasks. To the degree in which all the people actually participate in the exercise of self-management and self-administration and in the solution of problems of public interest and in which one can state that the state, as long

as it exists, is composed of workers, in order to ensure the full functionality of the system of socialist democracy it is necessary to raise the level of political and professional training and of the revolutionary education of all citizens. "Holes" in the education of cadre and citizens are incompatible with the optimum operation of the democratic framework and they inevitably lead to dysfunctionalities in the manner in which each democratic organism carried out its attributes and to phenomena of deviations and alienation. Passivism and the lack of interest on the part of certain citizens regarding social problems, negligence and backwards attitudes are explained both through a lack of a thorough training and through gaps in education and the influence of backwards mentalities and concepts foreign to our ideology and morals. That is why it appears necessary to strengthen the educational process and to accentuate the role of the activities of all cultural institutions and the means of disseminating information for the purpose of spreading the values of socialism to the awareness of the masses.

The social efficiency of the democratic framework depends upon the organic combination between the participation of the masses in decisionmaking and the fulfillment of these decisions and the achievement of programs and plans for economic-social development. The practice of socialist democracy has nothing to do with festivities and idle talk. Our democracy must be expressed in an ever greater manner as a democracy of decisions and deeds at the same time, of work and creativity, as a democracy of promoting and emulating authentic values. It requires a revolutionary spirit and an intransigence regarding lack of discipline or any type of dodging work, a critical attitude regarding reality and a courageous uncovering of shortcomings, rejecting demagoguery and words not accompanied by deeds in work. Each worker - as a producer, owner, user and participant in decisionmaking - has the responsibility of using production facilities and manpower at a maximum level of efficiency for the development and material and spiritual progress of the country. This is the fundamental sense of combining economic self-management and self-administration.

A condition for the efficient operation of the system of socialist democracy and self-management is the blending of the masses' participation in decisionmaking with the review of the fulfillment of these decisions. Our party has created a complex and unified system for exercising review and for the masses' participation in it, combining the carrying out of this review by the organs of state and administrative power with the operation of worker review and the review conducted by the party as a leading political force in society. A special role in the system of self-management and self-administration is played by the review and self-review of the workers' collectives, combined with the financial review, which is designed not only to discover, but also to help eliminate certain irregularities, errors and violations, and to improve activities.

The fundamental political value of socialism and socialist democracy becomes fully functional only to the degree in which the consistent practice of its principles and forms and the mastery of democracy are actually carried out in

style of management and behavior of each manager and each worker. By ensuring the functionality and efficiency of its forms, socialist democracy will decisively contribute to the promotion of the values of socialism, to the development and uplifting of the human personality and to the bringing about of a new quality in all our social life, becoming an emulative force for values and a force for stimulating creative work on all levels and the material and spiritual progress of our people.

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FAILURE TO APPOINT WOMEN AS FACTORY FOREMEN EXAMINED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Article by Rodica Serban: "What Stimulates and What Hinders the Promotion of Women in Production"]

[Excerpts] Our party and state have initiated important measures--in the economic social, organizational and legislative spheres--stimulating the affirmation of women in the life of society and recognizing the multilateral contribution which women are making and can make in all spheres of activity.

In industry, for example, women represent 40 percent of all the workers; their activity is characterized by a high level of professional training and conscientiousness, reflected in the quality of their work and in their visible contribution, both in the production sectors and in the management of workplaces, units, industrial centrals and ministries. It is no longer a surprise to find a woman sitting at a desk behind a door marked "director" or "minister." What is important is competence, good organization, and prestige.

But the process has not been completed. There are still great resources for increasing the contribution of women in economic and social life. And there are still some disharmonies, bureaucratic obstacles and even dissimulated prejudices which are diminishing this contribution. The present survey is concerned with this anomaly.

The role of the foreman in directing the production process is well known and unanimously acknowledged. Only 4 percent of all foremen are women. Why?

--In the 40 units of the machine building industry for which we train cadres, we have had only two or three female graduates of the foremen classes in the entire history of the institution, even though many of the trades were specifically feminine in character--the director of the "Unirea" training group in Bucharest said.

--We have not had and do not have this year any female candidates in the school for foremen--the deputy director of the "23 August" training group told us.

The percentage of women working in the "23 August" enterprise in Bucharest is 30 percent. More than 80 percent of them work in the production sectors. Is

Is it possible that, of the more than 3,000 women who work in the different sections of the enterprise, a few of the best might be selected and trained as foremen?! Undoubtedly not.

--We just did not think about it, the chief of the personnel and training section acknowledged. I believe that they do not want such responsibility. The complexity of the functions of a foreman is well known.

Is this the way it is? To cast some light on the situation, we asked the people concerned:

--Have you ever thought about becoming a foreman?--we asked Joita Teodoriu, quality controller in the machine tool section.

--Not only have I thought about it but I have also talked about it with my colleague, Georgeta Iordache. My husband is a foreman in the cardan shaft section. I think that I would be able to get along as well as he does.

--Why have you not pursued your intention?

--To be honest, I gave up my intentions when I saw that more attention was being given to men. And then, no one came forth to nominate me.

Maria Ciobanu is a quality controller in the same section. She is most highly regarded as a checker. But no one thought about nominating her although she would like further training.

These dialogues reveal one of the primary causes of the failure to include women in the schools for foremen: the passivity of some persons who are responsible for training cadres, insufficient concern--out of lack of confidence, out of laziness--for the utilization of existing resources for the purpose of training women as future cadres in production.

Another cause, a more unusual one, is found in worker sectors which are specifically and primarily feminine. In "Electroaparataj" we spoke with Comrade Elena Oana, chairman of the trade union committee:

--Only women work in the two installation sections but 16 of the 17 foremen are men. After years of effort, finally, this year, with great difficulty we succeeded in sending another woman to the school for foremen.

--You talk about effort, difficulties. What are they? Do the women have enough professional training to be recommended for a higher form of training?

--Certainly. We have numerous capable female workers who would be able to handle the training and the job of foreman in an exemplary manner.

--Then why do you not propose them as candidates for the entrance exam?

--Because we cannot.

An incredible response, especially in an enterprise in the electrical engineering subbranch in which there are many female workers. The same state of affairs exists in other domains. For example, in the schools for foremen for the chemical industry--a field in which there are also many female workers--only 6 percent of the students are women. Even in light industry, where women represent more than 70 percent of the labor force, there are few women in the schools for foremen.

It is not easy to find a man to send to the school for foremen in a section factory or branch in which practically all the workers are women or in trades which are specifically feminine. This has resulted in an even stranger practice: candidates for the position of foreman in specifically feminine enterprises are recruited from the ranks of men who work in other trades! And sometimes even from sectors not directly involved in production!

Here is an example. The last class for textile foremen in Industrial School No 6 of "Filatura romaneasca de bumbac" in Bucharest has 37 graduates. Only 7 of these people were recruited from among the ranks of female spinners. The majority of them come from other trades and work not with yarn but with iron.

--Are the foremen who come from other professions better?

--How can they be? Foremen should be chosen from the ranks of the best workers in the area of specialty. A machinist might know more about the mechanism of the looms but only the weaver knows the secrets of weaving and can appreciate the quality of the cloth--Comrade Eng. Georgeta Tafta, director of the Directorate of Personnel and Training in the Ministry of Light Industry told us.

There is no doubt that, regardless of field, the foreman should be promoted from the ranks of the best workers in the respective trade. In addition, this is what the law states. Then, you might ask, how can such abnormal situations occur?

We were told that they were a result of a certain "interpretation of Law 6" (of 1977) on the role and functions of the foreman. It is a question of Article 23, paragraph 2 which stipulates a number of conditions including the following: "The recruitment of candidates for admission to the schools for foremen takes place among the workers in the last or second-to-last category of employment." This text gave rise to the dilemma, scholastic in appearance, but with serious practical consequences in reality: is it a question of the last or next-to-last category for the respective trade or the last category which is theoretically possible for the branch or unit?

The viewpoint of the ministries directly concerned is that which is prompted by the interests of production: the future foremen should be recruited from those workers who have obtained the last or next-to-last category not in other trades but in the profession in which they will work as foremen. This is a viewpoint which can be found in official communications, signed by persons in positions of leadership in the respective economic departments.

The viewpoint of the Ministry of Education and Instruction--which bears the unitary responsibility for the professional training of cadres--is identical. Nevertheless there is still confusion in some directorates of other ministries which maintain that the recruitment of candidates for schools for foremen should be carried out among workers in the last or next-to-last category of employment in the wage system of the branch--regardless of their actual work place and regardless of the specific nature of the activity which the future foremen will be coordinating. This means, in practice, that many trades performed primarily by women, such as installers in the electronics and electrical engineering industry, textile workers, clothing workers, etc, will not be eligible for producing foremen. There have been numerous discussions and many arguments have been used but the facts show clearly that the persistence of confusion in the application of the law bars the way to the promotion of women in positions of foreman in activities performed mainly by women. Could not the specialists, noting these discrepancies, initiate analyses in the units where the test of the law comes up against life and its demands, and on the basis of the conclusions reached, formulate the explanations which are absolutely necessary?

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ROMANIA

BRIEFS

DEATH OF TAROM DIRECTOR--Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 September 1981
p 4 reports the "unexpected" death of Colonel Aviator Sofian Craciunescu,
director of "TAROM" [The Romanian Air Transport Company]. [Editorial Report]

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